

CHAPTER VIII.

NOTES ON THE ICONOGRAPHY  
OF GLASS PAINTING IN THE MIDLANDS.

### THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

The incomplete nature of much of the remaining stained glass in the Midlands makes it impossible to formulate precise conclusions regarding the general trends in the iconography of the Virgin as found in glass painting.

Narrative cycles illustrating the Life of the Virgin are now rare. Certain scenes are naturally included in cycles of the Life of Christ, for example the Annunciation and Visitation in an Infancy cycle, or the Crucifixion and Three Maries at the tomb in a Passion cycle. A cycle devoted specifically to the Virgin may be identified by the inclusion of scenes drawn from the Apocraphal accounts of her life, there are, however, exceptions to this rule.<sup>(1)</sup> There is evidence for only one such cycle in the Midlands. Two fifteenth century panels at Newark, Notts. illustrate 'The Suitors of the Virgin in the Temple' and part of either the Death or Funeral of the Virgin. (Newark, Cat. Nos. 43 and 52).<sup>(2)</sup> The first panel shows the High Priest taking Joseph by the arm, with the other suitors standing around holding their

---

(1) See G. Rushford. Medieval Christian Imagery (1936) pp. 343-347 Great Malvern Priory. Window. d. XV.c. where the tracery lights contain a series illustrating the Life of the Virgin, based on the Apocraphal accounts, and also the Nativity of Christ.

(2) These are associated with scenes of the Infancy and Passion of Christ, of identical dimensions, technique and style. The extent and division into windows of the original series are conjectural.

rods.<sup>(3)</sup> Joseph is shown turning away from the High Priest.

The significance of this gesture requires clarification, possibly the composition is an adaptation of a Rejection of Joachim's

sacrifice.<sup>(4)</sup> Illustrations of the apocraphal accounts of the Virgin's marriage occur in the thirteenth century glass at Lincoln,<sup>(5)</sup> now fragmentary, and, of the fifteenth century, at Great Malvern Priory.<sup>(6)</sup>

The second panel at Newark is fragmentary and may contain alien intrusions (Cat. No. 52). There are eight figures of men, all nimbed and facing right, and each figure holds a lighted candle. Miss Howson read this panel as a candelmass procession.<sup>(7)\*</sup> The figures, however, are nimbed, this seems to preclude her identification. It seems more reasonable to suggest that these figures are Apostles and that they originally formed part of either a Death or Funeral of the Virgin. The evidence for this interpretation

(3) Joseph's right arm and hand, presumably holding the flowering rod and dove are now missing.

(4) Miss Joan Howson in Brit. Soc. Master Glass Painters' Journal Vol. XII. No. 4 (1958/9) p. 264 seq. describes this panel as 'The Suitors of the Virgin trying to attack Joseph'. There is no attempt made to justify this reading.

(5) J. Lafond 'The Stained Glass Decoration of Lincoln Cathedral in the thirteenth century' Royal Arch. Institute Journal Vol. CIII (1947). p. 129. No. 24. St. Joseph chosen as husband for the B.V.M.

(6) Rushforth op. cit. pp. 343-7. Window. d. (6) Mary refuses to wed (7) The priests praying for guidance (8) Joseph's rod blossoms.

(7)\* Howson. op. cit.

165

is later than the Newark panel but is none the less valid. In a mid fifteenth century tapestry, possibly made in Trier, the Death of the Virgin is depicted and eight of the Apostles grouped around her bed each carry a lighted candle.<sup>(7)</sup> A panel of the funeral of the Virgin at Gresford, Denbigh, dated 1500, shows the Apostles carrying the Virgin's coffin, with the "prince of priests" trying to stop the funeral procession. Each Apostle carries a lighted candle.<sup>(8)</sup> The evidence of these two examples supports the identification of the Newark panel.

It seems probable that windows depicting the legendary life of the Virgin were quite common. The remains are scanty but cover a considerable period, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. The thirteenth century panel at Lincoln is linked with a fragment of a Funeral of the Virgin, both probably come from the same window.<sup>(9)</sup> The east window of the chancel at North Moreton, Berks. contains three panels, of late thirteenth - early fourteenth century date, showing the Death, Funeral and

---

(7) Burrell Coll. Glasgow. See B.Kurth "Masterpieces of Gothic tapestry in the Burrell Collection. Connoisseur. Vol.CXVII (1946) pp.11-12. illustr.

(8) Photograph at the Courtauld Institute (Crossley Coll.).

(9) Lafond. op. cit. p.129-130. Nos.24-26. A fragmentary scene may also be associated with these panels. No.25.



Assumption of the Virgin.<sup>(10)</sup> The Assumption is combined with St. Thomas receiving the Virgin's girdle.<sup>(11)</sup> The fourteenth century glass in the clearstoreys of the Lady Chapel at York Minster contains part of another cycle: the extant scenes show the Annunciation of the Virgin's death, her Death, Burial and Coronation.<sup>(12)</sup> A very important and detailed series remains in part at St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich. This is fifteenth century in date and shows six scenes of the Virgin's life from the annunciation of her death up to her Assumption.<sup>(13)</sup>

Medieval texts of the Life and Miracles of the Virgin are quite common, particularly from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>(14)</sup>

- 
- (10) Photographs at the Courtauld Institute A45/4952/4951/4949.
- (11) Compare the illumination on folio 161.b. of the De Lisle Hours of the Virgin, circa 1320-1330. W. Glazier Coll. New York (see Sotherby's Sale Catalogue: May 19. 1958 p.23 with illustration).
- (12) J. Knowles. Notes on some windows in the choir and Lady Chapel of York Minster. Yorks Archaeol. Soc. Journal XXXIX (1956) pp.91-118 see pp. 97-103.
- (13) The subjects are: (1) The Virgin handing the palm to St. John. (2) The Apostles miraculously assembled. (3) St. John announcing the Virgin's impending death (4) The Funeral arrested (5) The Soldier converted (6) The Assumption of the Virgin. Panels 2 and 6 are now at Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk and Panel 5 is now in the Burrell Coll. Glasgow. See C. Woodforde. The Norwich School of Glass Painting in the XV.c. (1950) pp.29-31.
- (14) H.L.D. Ward. Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum (1893) Vol.II. pp.586-594.



The legends of Theophilus and the Jew of Bourges were particularly popular subjects for illustration. The thirteenth century glass at Lincoln Cathedral retains four panels illustrating the legend of Theophilus and two panels of the Jew of Bourges.<sup>(15)</sup> There are also two panels from another Theophilus series remaining at St. Denis Walmgate, York, also of the thirteenth century.<sup>(16)</sup> Similar windows of the fourteenth century appear to have either not survived or await identification. That such existed is suggested by the popularity of this class of legend as a subject for manuscript illumination, for example in the Smithfield Decretals,<sup>(17)</sup> the Taymouth Hours<sup>(18)</sup> and the Carew-Poyntz Hours,<sup>(19)</sup> all of the fourteenth century.

Single subjects illustrating a particular episode of the Virgin's life, as distinct from a continuous narrative cycle, are an important feature of the extant glass in the Midlands.

---

(15) Lafond. op. cit. pp.132-134. East window, North choir aisle. Nos. 30-35.

(16) *ibid.* p.133. The identification of these two panels as (1) The Devil receiving the bond from Theophilus and (2) Theophilus kneeling before the Virgin, is suggested by Lafond refuting the vague description given by F.Harrison in The Painted glass of York (1927) p.160.

(17) British Museum. Royal MS. 10.E.IV. See G.F.Warner and J.P. Gilson Western MSS in the old Royal and Kings Collections (1921)

(18) British Museum. Yates Thompson MS. 13. See M.R.James The Yates Thompson Collection. A Descriptive Catalogue MSS 51-100

(19) Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. MS.48. See M.R.James Fitzwilliam Museum. Catalogue of MSS. (1895)

The early life of the Virgin is represented by two panels of St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read, at Stanford-on-Avon, Northants, and Haddon Hall, Derbys. (20)

The Annunciation occurs twice as part of a general iconographic scheme occupying the tracery lights of a window. At Tong, Salop, the east window of the chancel contains the Annunciation in the two apex lights with, in the lower range of lights, the Virgin and child, St. Mary Salome with her children and St. Mary Magdalene. (Catalogue Numbers, 25. 26. 29-31). (21) The iconography therefore has a Marian bias, but is not exclusively devoted to her. In the Annunciation scene the archangel, in the left hand light, is represented kneeling holding a scroll inscribed with the salutation "Ave Maria gracia plena Dominus (tecum)" (22) In the adjacent light the Virgin stands facing the archangel, her hands are raised in astonishment. The pot of lilies stands on the floor beside her feet.

The east window of the chapel at Haddon Hall, Derbys. dated 1427, contains, in its tracery lights, the Coronation of the

---

(20) For a full account see sub. Iconography. St. Anne.

(21) Three lights of this lower register are missing, originally the series possibly also included St. Mary Cleophas with her children, St. Anne and the Virgin and St. Elisabeth with St. John Baptist. See a comparable series at All Souls College, Oxford, dated 1441. F.E. Hutchinson, Medieval Glass at All Souls College (1949) pp.27-29.

(22) St. Luke's Gosple. Chapt. 1 v.28.

Virgin in the two apex lights and, below these, St. Helena, the Annunciation, the Virgin and child, St. Sitha and an incomplete Saint. (Catalogue Numbers, 1. 3-5. 10.12) The Annunciation is basically the same as at Tong. The archangel kneels in the left hand light, holding a scroll inscribed with the salutation. The Virgin, in the next light, stands facing the archangel, the lily pot beside her feet, but here she holds an open book and the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, is shown flying down beside her head. The main lights of the window contain the crucifixion of Christ with attendant figures.

An incomplete fifteenth century figure at Broughton Astley, Leics., probably represents the archangel Gabriel, the figure of the Virgin, and the other tracery lights of this window, are, however, missing. (Catalogue Number 12. ).

In the two examples at Tong and Haddon Hall cited above the Virgin's reply to the archangel's salutation is not represented. A fifteenth century panel at Newark, Notts. contains both. The Virgin's scroll reads "Ecce (ancilla Domin)i fiat michi s(e)c(un)d(um) (verbum) tuu(m)"<sup>(23)</sup> in reply to the archangel's "Ave (Maria) gracia plena D(omi)n(u)s tecum." The Virgin's scroll has been wrongly inserted in a panel showing the Visitation (Catalogue

---

(23) St. Luke. Ch. 1. v. 38.



This type is not represented in the Midlands. Examples in glass, however, are found at Canterbury Cathedral<sup>(42)</sup> and at Aldermaston, Berks.<sup>(43)</sup> to give but two early examples of thirteenth century date.

The second type is not, strictly speaking, a Coronation at all, but is the Triumph of the Virgin. She is shown crowned seated beside Christ who blesses her. The earliest known example of this type is the apse mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere at Rome, executed for Pope Innocent II in 1140-1148.<sup>(44)</sup> Mâle suggested that a lost window given by Suger, Abbot of St. Denis to Notre Dame, Paris served as a model for the mosaic. Innocent II having seen the window on his visit to Paris in 1131.<sup>(45)</sup> The exact nature of this window and also its date are not known.<sup>(46)</sup>

---

(42) B. Rackham. The Ancient glass of Canterbury Cathedral (1949) p.51. From the Apse Clearstorey, circa 1200. This panel is unusual in that the Virgin holds the palm given to her by the Angel at the Annunciation of her death.

(43) A drawing is given in P. Nelson, Ancient painted glass in England, pl. IX.

(44) Marucchi. Elements de l'archeologie chretienne, III. p.435.

(45) E. Mâle. L'Art Religieux du XII<sup>me</sup> siecle en France p.184. The window is only known from an eighteenth century description of it as "a sort of Triumph of the Virgin".

(46) For the most recent view see M. Aubert. L. Grodecki, J. Lafond and J. Verrier Les Vitraux de Notre Dame et de la Sainte Chapelle de Paris. (1959. Vol. I of the French Corpus Vitrearum) p.15.



If the French origin of this iconography is to be denied its popularity in French art is not, as the later twelfth century examples at Angers, c.1161-1177,<sup>(47)</sup> Cambrai c.1170-1180 (now lost)<sup>(48)</sup> and Senlis, c.1185<sup>(49)</sup> attest. Eight of the extant ten representations of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Midlands' glass are of this type: the design is generally divided over two tracery lights. These occur at Stanford-on-Avon<sup>(50)</sup> and Aldwinkle St. Peters,<sup>(51)</sup> Northants; Annesley<sup>(52)</sup> and Lambley,<sup>(53)</sup> Notts; Donnington<sup>(54)</sup> and Alberbury<sup>(55)</sup> Salop; and Church Leigh,<sup>(56)</sup> Staffs, all of the fourteenth century, and, at Haddon Hall, Derbys, dated 1427.<sup>(57)</sup>

- 
- (47) M. Aubert Le vitrail en France (1946) p.16. Bréhier L'Art Chrétien (1928) p.269 suggested that the Angers window was earlier than the St. Maria in Trastevere mosaic. The later dating is now generally accepted. See also Zarnecki op. cit. p.8.
- (48) Zarnecki op. cit. p.7 citing J. Vanuxem 'Les portails détruits de la Cathédral de Cambrai et de St. Nicholas d'Amiens, Bulletin Monumental, Vol.CIIV. p.95.
- (49) Mâle op. cit. p.435.
- (50) Stanford-on-Avon. Northants. Cat. Nos. 51. 56. Tracery lights.
- (51) Aldwinkle-St.-Peters. Northants. Section, Lost glass.
- (52) Annesley, Notts. Cat. Nos. 5. 13. Tracery lights.
- (53) <sup>Lancaster</sup> Lambley, Notts. Cat.No.1. Tracery lights, the Christ is lost.
- (54) Donnington, Salop. Cat.Nos.6. 7. Original location not known.
- (55) Alberbury, Salop. Cat.No.1. Single tracery light.
- (56) Church Leigh, Staffs. Cat.Nos. 7, 8. Incomplete.
- (57) Haddon Hall, Derbys. Cat.No.1. Tracery lights, the Christ is lost.

The third type again shows the Virgin enthroned with Christ, who blesses her, but here the crown is placed on her head by an angel flying downwards. A very fine panel of this type is found at Holdenby, Northants., probably of the late thirteenth century.<sup>(58)</sup> At Ludlow, Salop, is a fragment of this scene, only the head and shoulders of the Virgin and the angel above her now remain. This is of the mid fourteenth century in date.<sup>(59)</sup>

*Noted Darius 1420*

---

(58) Holdenby. Northants. Cat. No.1.

(59) Ludlow, Salop. Cat. No. 42.

### THE LIFE OF CHRIST

There are quite a number of panels illustrating scenes from the life of Christ. Unfortunately the material is very incomplete. In many cases it is impossible to say to what extent the panels represent parts of a continuous narrative cycle or are individual separate scenes. The most complete series is found at Newark-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire. The Adoration of the Magi and Christ with the Doctors in the Temple remain from an Infancy cycle and the Agony in the Garden, Mocking of Christ, the Maries at the tomb and Noli Me Tangere from a Passion cycle remain in early fourteenth century glass. The early fifteenth century glass at Newark retains panels of two more such cycles.

The material is again presented in a tabulated chronological sequence.

### INFANCY OF CHRIST

#### THE ANNUNCIATION.

See sub Iconography. The Blessed Virgin Mary.

#### THE VISITATION

See sub Iconography. The Blessed Virgin Mary.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

(St. Matthew.Ch.II.v.1-12)

XIV.C. Newark (Notts). Cat. No.11.

Thornton (Leics). Cat. Nos. 4, 5.

Kegworth (Leics). Cat. No.45 (A fragment only).

The Newark panel shows the Three Magi on the left, the foremost king kneels before the Virgin and Child offering the cup of gold. The other two kings each hold a similar covered cup, the second king points to the star.<sup>(1)</sup> The Thornton panel is basically the same, although very decayed and patched with alien glass, except that the kneeling king holds his crown in his right hand. At Kegworth only the head of the kneeling king and his hand holding up the cup of gold are all that remain.

The iconography of the Newark and Thornton panels is the common type as found in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>(2)</sup> For example comparison can be made with the more or less contemporary illuminations in the De Lisle Psalter<sup>(3)</sup> and Queen Mary's Psalter<sup>(4)</sup>

- 
1. The star is unfortunately missing.
  2. The iconographical material relating to the Magi is collected in H.Kehrer's Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Litteratur und Kunt. (11 Vols. 1908-9). G.Rushforth Medieval Christian Imagery (1936) pp.284-6 gives a convenient survey with sources.
  3. British Museum. Arundel MS.83. British Mus. Repr. III.p.XXIII.
  4. British Museum Royal MS. 2.B.VII. Facsimile ed. G.F.Warner (Roxburghe Club) pl.163.

and the stained glass at Wells cathedral.<sup>(5)</sup> The motif of one of the kings painting to the star is not commonly found after the fourteenth century<sup>(6)</sup> There is no evidence in the glass of the midlands to suggest the existence of a cycle of Magi scenes such as is found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts<sup>(7)</sup> and later manuscripts<sup>(8)</sup> sculpture<sup>(9)</sup> and stained glass.<sup>(10)</sup>

- 
5. J.Armitage-Robinson. The Fourteenth Century Glass at Wells. Archaeologia LXXXI. pp.99-100.Pl.LI.fig.3. Incomplete: two kings only.
  6. See the panel in the North aisle of the Nave, window k at Great Malvern. Rushforth op.cit. p.283-4. Fig.137. Also the panel at St. Peter Mancroft. Norwich. C.Woodforde The Medieval Glass of St. Peter Mancroft (1934) pp.24-25. Pl. at p.24.
  7. e.g. The Missal of Robert of Jumieges. Rouen Public Library MS. Y.6. ed. H.A. Wilson (Henry Bradshaw Soc. 1896) Pls. III & IV. The Magi Before Herod, the journey to Bethlehem, the Adoration, the Dream of the Magi. For the Anglo-Saxon cycles and their Carolingian predecessors see The St. Albans Psalter (Albani Psalter) O.Pacht, C.R.Dodwell and F.Wormald (1960) p.55 ff. (O.Pacht. The Full Page Miniatures).
  8. e.g. The St. Albans Psalter. Hildesheim St. Godehard's circa 1100-1123. The St. Albans Psalter op. cit. pp.55-56, pp.82-83: The Magi before Herod: The journey: The Adoration: The Dream of the Magi: Their Return. A page from a related Psalter (Brit.Mus. Add MS. 37472 (1) ) shows six scenes: Their journey: Before Herod: Herod consulting the scribes: Journey of the Magi: The Adoration: their dream. M.R. James. Four Leaves of an English Psalter. Walpole Soc. Vol.XXV. (1936-37) p.5-6 pl.III.
  9. e.g. The Lady Chapel at Glastonbury. c.1210. Voussoirs of the North door.
  10. See Rushforth op.cit. p.283-286. Window k. probably The Journey: Adoration: Their Return. Very incomplete.



THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.

(St. Matthew. Ch.11. v.13-18)

XIV.C. Thornton (Leics). Cat. No.6.

In the Thornton panel the Virgin, holding the Christ Child, is represented seated on the ass led by Joseph walking to the right. The panel is very decayed. This form of representation is more or less standard throughout the Middle Ages. The Flight has been traced in East Christian art as early as the sixth century.<sup>(11)</sup> The earliest English example that I am aware of is found in the Missal of Robert of Jumieges of 1013-1017.<sup>(12)</sup> In some illustrations of the Flight James, Joseph's son, is represented leading the ass, with Joseph following behind.<sup>(13)</sup>

THE SOLDIERS BEFORE HEROD AND THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.

(St. Matthew. Ch.11. v.13-18).

XV.C. Newark. (Notts)

Cat. No.54. The Soldiers before Herod.

Cat. No.42. The Massacre of the Innocents.

---

11. K. Kunstle. Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst. (1928) p.389.

12. ed. H. A. Wilson, op.cit. Pl.11.

13. For example in the St. Albans Psalter c. 1100-1123. Pächt op. cit. p.60 points out that the inclusion of James as described in the Protoevangelion Jacobi (c. 17, 2) is indebted to Byzantine art.



These two panels at Newark are incomplete. The identification of the first scene is not certain. This panel now shows three armed soldiers kneeling before an incomplete figure of a king who is seated holding a sword. The centre of the panel has been disturbed, a saint's head (St. Peter ?) adjacent to the soldiers is probably an alien insertion. It seems possible that originally this may have been either Herod ordering the Massacre or even the soldiers reporting to Herod after the massacre.<sup>(14)</sup> The Massacre panel is more complete. One soldier is shown impaling a child on his raised sword. In the foreground another soldier tears a child away from its kneeling mother and several spectators look on.

Illustrations of the Massacre of the Innocents are quite common. The earliest English example was possibly that in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, of circa 963-984. Unfortunately this has been cut out of the manuscript.<sup>(15)</sup> Earlier than this is the historiated initial in the Sacramentary of Drogo of Metz (826-855) of circa 850.<sup>(16)</sup> The division of the narrative into

- 
14. The Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors in the Coventry Corpus Christi Plays includes the soldiers reporting to Herod after the Massacre. H.Craig Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays. Early Eng. Text Soc. Extra Series LXXXVII (2.Ed. 1957) p.30 lines 883-887.
  15. The Benedictional of St. Ethelwold. facsimile edit. G.F.Warner (Roxburghe Club) p.XXI. (Now B.M. Add MS. 49598).
  16. Rep in H.Swarzenski Monuments of Romanesque Art (1953) Pl.17. fig. 17.

two phases, i.e. the soldiers before Herod and the carrying out of his orders can be seen in the illustrations of the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter of circa 1000,<sup>(17)</sup> in the St. Albans Psalter of circa 1100-1123<sup>(18)</sup> and on a carved voussoir from St. Mary's Abbey, York of circa 1210,<sup>(19)</sup> to give but three examples. The mid fifteenth century panel in the east window of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich contains an unusual detail in that Herod himself is shown murdering a child.<sup>(20)</sup>

#### JESUS AMONG THE DOCTORS

(See Luke. Ch. 11. v.46-51).

XIV.C. Newark (Notts). Cat. No.11.

xv.c. Newark " Cat. No.49.

The fourteenth century panel at Newark shows the Child Christ seated, on the left, in exposition before two doctors, a

- 
17. Vatical. MS. Regina Lat. 12.f.87v. rep. in The St. Albans Psalter op. cit. Pl. 128a.
  18. rep. in The St. Albans Psalter op. cit. Pl.21a. Dr. Pächt ibid. p.85 discusses Byzantine parallels and the possible connection with liturgical drama, for the representation of the armiger linking the two phases.
  19. Rep. in G.Zarnecki. Later English Romanesque Sculpture 1140-1210. (1953) Pl. 126. and p.63.
  20. C. Woodforde. The Norwich School of Glass Painting in the Fifteenth Century. (1950) p.27. Pl. 111.

Numbers 50 and 46 respectively) The Visitation panel is the only extant example of this subject in the glass of the Midlands. The Immaculate Conception is symbolised by gold rays on the Virgin's body, as in other representations of this subject. (24) These two panels probably came from a window of the Infancy of Christ. (25)

The Annunciation was an extremely popular subject for representation in the Middle Ages. It is impossible to survey the extensive iconography of this subject in this present account. (26) A few points of detail, relating to the examples cited in the Midlands, will be noted. The vase of lilies first occurs in a Coptic Synaxary of the tenth century, it is not until the end of the thirteenth century, however, that it is commonly included in representations of the Annunciation. (27) Male considered that

---

(24) e.g. Magnifical window. Transept. Great Malvern Priory late XV.c. Rushforth op. cit. p.378. fig. 172.

(25) The possibility of a window depicting the Life of the Virgin, at Newark, has been discussed above.

(26) The later material is considered by D. Robb "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries" Art Bulletin, Vol.XVIII (1936) pp.480-526.

(27) Robb. op. cit. p.482. E. Mâle, L'Art Religieux du XIII<sup>me</sup> siècle in France, p.245 considered that the lilies were first introduced in the thirteenth century.

the lilies are not symbolic of the Virgin's purity.<sup>(28)</sup> In English medieval texts, however, the lily symbolises the Virgin's maidenhood and also the Body of Christ.<sup>(29)</sup>

In the Annunciation panels at Haddon Hall and Newark the Virgin holds an open book. The first pictorial representation of the Annunciation to contain a book occurs on a ninth century ivory of the Metz school, where it is shown laying open on a reading desk.<sup>(30)</sup> This formula was taken over in Anglo Saxon art of the tenth century.<sup>(31)</sup> At Haddon Hall and Newark the

---

(28) Mâle op. cit. pp.245-6. The flower in a vase, later defined as a lily, viewed as a symbol of spring, the time of flowers, when the Annunciation took place,

(29) E.Tristan. English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century (1955) p.22. citing The Aienbite of Inwyrt (1340) where maidenhood is likened to a lily that has six leaves: holiness and purity of blood, purity of heart, meekness, fear of God, austerity of life and steadfastness (Morris edit. 1866 p.230). Also two English sermons: "Goddess somme of heven ... found a floure full sweet smellynge of maydenhode" (Middle English Sermons. ed. Ross. 1940. S.8.38) and, in a description of the arms of Christ: "a lillie of whyte, that was His owne precious body in all his bitter penaunce" (Ross. S.35. 188). See also Rushforth op. cit. p.85 citing IV.c. text of St. Zeno of Verona (Migne P.L. XI. 415) where three lily blossoms on the stem symbolise the Virgin's immaculate virginity.

(30) O.Pächt. C.R.Dodwell and Francis Wormald 'The St. Albans Psalter' (1960). O. Pächt. The full page miniatures. p.66 and plate 118 e.

(31) Benedictional of St. Athelwold f.5.v. and the Anglo Saxon Gospels Bolougne MS II, f IIr Pächt op. cit. p.66.

writing of the book is represented by parallel rows of short strokes. In some representations of the Annunciation the Virgin is shown reading Isaiah's prophecy: *Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel*,<sup>(32)</sup> this does not appear to occur in English glass painting.<sup>(33)</sup>

Single tracery lights containing a figure of the Virgin holding the Christ Child have been mentioned at Tong, Salop and Haddon Hall, Derbys. Large panels, from the main lights of a window, showing the Virgin and Child are also found at Checkley<sup>(34)</sup> and Enville,<sup>(35)</sup> Staffs and at Tong, Salop<sup>(36)</sup> of the late thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth century respectively. In each case these are associated with figures of Saints in adjacent lights, the full extent and precise nature of the original series are not known. Figures of the Virgin offering her breast to the Child are found at Stanford-on-Avon, Northants.<sup>(37)</sup> and Bushbury

---

(32) Isaiah Ch. VII. v. 14.

(33) The evolution and development of this idea, from both literary and pictorial sources, has been thoroughly investigated by Dr. Pacht op. cit. pp.63-66.

(34) Checkley. Staffs. Cat. No. 47.

(35) Enville, Staffs. Cat. No. 16.

(36) Tong. Salop. Cat. No. 12.

(37) Stanford-on-Avon. Northants. Cat. No. 13.



Staffs, (38) both of the fourteenth century. An incomplete panel at Donnington, Salop, may be a simple devotional image of the Virgin and Child. It could, however, be a fragment of a narrative scene, possibly the Adoration of the Magi. (39)

There are ten remaining examples of the Coronation of the Virgin in glass painting in the Midlands. The iconography of the Coronation can be divided into three main types. The earliest known type shows the Virgin enthroned with Christ who places a crown on her head. The first extant example of this is English: a sculptured capital from Reading Abbey, Berks. of circa 1130. (40) The discovery of this capital has resulted in a clarification of the views regarding the earliest example of this iconography. (41)

---

(38) Bushbury, Staffs. Cat. No.8. Very incomplete, the Christ Child and the Virgin's hand supporting her breast only remain.

(39) Donnington, Salop. Cat. No. 9.

(40) G.Zarnecki. The Coronation of the Virgin on a capital from Reading Abbey. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. Vol. XIII (1950) pp. 1-14.

(41) Male op. cit. p.256 ff. suggested that it was introduced c.1250 at Sens, Auxerre and Rheims. The earliest representation in French art is found in a psalter of XII-XIII.c. date (Paris Bibliotheque Nat. MS. lat.238.f 62.v. cited by Zarnecki op.cit. p.9). It also occurs in stained glass at Chartres of about the same date. (Delaport and Houvet Les Vitraux de la Cathedral de Chartres. 1926. Vol.I. pp.171-6, plate XXIII). The Reading capital and the Tympanum at Quenington, Glos. c.1150 are the earliest known extant examples of Christ crowning the Virgin. Zarnecki op. cit. p.11 discusses the possibility of an English origin for this iconography in relation to the strong cult of the Virgin in some southern English monasteries, from the early eleventh century onwards.



third figure stands behind Christ, and, on the right, the Virgin and Joseph are shown entering.<sup>(21)</sup> The second panel at Newark is but a fragment. It shows two doctors seated, facing each other, their hands raised in discussion. They wear academical costume. The identification is suggested by the evidence of the early sixteenth century panel of this subject at Great Malvern, where the doctors also wear academical costume.<sup>(22)</sup>

The earliest known example of the subject occurs in the Gospels of St. Augustine of the sixth century.<sup>(23)</sup> Jesus is here shown seated between two men and the Virgin advances from the left. This symmetrical disposition of Christ and the doctors is the more common arrangement found in later medieval art. There are examples in thirteenth century glass at Canterbury Cathedral<sup>(24)</sup> and

- 
21. The panel has been rearranged. The 'platform' below the figures is an alien intrusion. The identifications of the Virgin and Joseph are suspect.
22. Rushforth. op. cit. p.382 fig. 174. Magnificat window in the Transept. datable c. 1501.
23. Cambridge. Corpus Christi College MS. 286. f. 129 b. F.Wormald. The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine (The Sanders Lectures in Bibliography. 1948) (1954). p.14. Pl. VIII.
24. B. Rackham. The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral. (1949.) p.62. pl. 19a. Choir Aisle window III. c.1200. Christ is seated between eight doctors, inscribed IHC DVODENNIS IN MEDIO DOCTORVM.

Lincoln Cathedral. (25) Neither of these include the Virgin and Joseph. In the Malvern panel already cited the doctors are grouped in a circle around Christ who is elevated on a tall throne. (26) The Virgin and Joseph are here shown on the left of the composition.

#### THE PASSION OF CHRIST

#### THE LAST SUPPER

(St. Matthew Ch.XXVI. v.20-29)

XIV.C. Newark (Notts). Cat. No. 9.

The identification of this panel is uncertain. All that remains is the incomplete figure of Christ in benediction holding the bread (?) in the left hand. However the left arm and hand are misplaced and seem alien to the rest of the figure.

25. L. Lafond. The Stained Glass Decoration of Lincoln Cathedral in the Thirteenth Century. Royal Archaeol. Inst. Journal Vol.CIII. p.130. North Rose. C. Christ is seated between six doctors, on the same narrow bench.
26. The germ of this elevation can perhaps be seen in Early Christian art. e.g. the V.C. ivory in the Brit. Mus. where Christ stands on a stool between two doctors. (O. Dalton. Catalogue of Ivory carvings of the Christian era in the British Museum 1909. pt. Cat. No.9). In the early XIV.c. Queen Mary's Psalter Christ is seated on the top of a column structure. (Facsimile ed. G. Warner, op. cit. pl.188).

THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN

(St. Matthew Ch. XXVI. 36-46. St. Luke XXII,  
v. 39-46).

XIV.C. Newark (Notts). Cat. No. 10.

Woodborough (Notts). Cat. Nos. 1. 2.

The Newark panel depicting the scene in the Garden of Gethsemane shows Christ kneeling in prayer, looking upwards. The three Apostles are seated on the left, one is asleep, two are awake, the two latter heads may be alien insertions. At Woodborough the scene is divided over two tracery lights of a window. The left light contains Christ in prayer in the Garden. The right light contains the Apostles. This is a most curious panel. There are two small figures, one of whom is St. James Major: he is identified by his pilgrim's hat, staff and wallet. Both these figures are shown sleeping, seated on a traceried bench. Between them is a larger figure of St. Peter holding the two keys. He is shown awake. This figure is probably an alien insertion.

The early iconography of the Agony in the Garden illustrated the narrative in two scenes happening simultaneously: Christ in prayer and Christ waking the sleeping Apostles. (27) The St. Albans Psalter of circa 1100-1123 illustrates the two scenes separately. The first scene, of Christ in prayer, retains the

---

27. e.g. The Gospels of St. Augustine VI.c. Wormald op.cit Pl.IV.3.

sleeping Apostles: complimentary to the agonised Christ. (28)

The particular importance of this illustration, however, is that it also represents the comforting angel and the cup of Bitterness. The motif of the angel is attributed to Byzantine influence. (29) The inclusion of the Cup of Bitterness symbolising Christ's dialogue with the Father in Heaven "remove this cup from me" (30) is probably an original contribution of the English artist. (31)

The Newark and Woodborough panels contain neither the angel nor the cup. The strong gesture of the Newark Christ looking upwards suggests that something is missing from the panel either the angel, cup or the Hand of God. This, however, is uncertain as representations are found of Christ in prayer without the appearance of any of these three motifs, for example in the late thirteenth century Grandison Psalter. (32)

28. The St. Albans Psalter. op. cit. Pacht pp.61, 89. Pls. 25 b. 26a.

29. *ibid.* p.61. See St. Luke. Ch. XXII. v. 43.

30. St. Luke, Ch. XXII. v. 42. St. Matthew XXVI. v. 39.

31. Pacht. op. cit. p.61.

32. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 21296. O. Saunders English illumination (1928), Pl. 89.

THE MOCKING OF CHRIST

(St. Mark. Ch. XIV. v. 63-65; St. Luke XXII. 63-65)

XIV.C. Newark (Notts). Cat. No. 12.

In the Newark panel Christ is represented standing motionless. His hands bound in front of Him. His face is completely covered by a large cloth that is being pulled tight by two men standing beside Him, behind them is a third man with his arm raised in anger.

The Gospels of St. Augustine of the sixth century contain an illustration of this scene.<sup>(33)</sup> Here, however, Christ is not blindfolded. He is shown held by the wrists by two men, on either side of whom are other men with their hands raised to strike. The motif of the blindfolded Christ does not occur until much later in the Middle Ages. The earliest English example is found in the St. Albans Psalter of circa 1100-1123, now at Hildesheim. Dr. Pächt has pointed out that this illumination with Christ motionless and frontal was probably stimulated by Byzantine art.<sup>(34)</sup> The motif of the blindfold Christ is, Pächt suggests, an original contribution of the English master.<sup>(35)</sup> However Pächt also points out that an

33. Wormald. Gospels of St. Augustine. op. cit. pl. VI.

34. The St. Albans Psalter. op. cit. pp. 61-62, 90-91. Pl. 27. b.

35. *ibid.* p. 91.



earlier illumination of the late eleventh century, ascribed to Tours and now at Auxerre Cathedral, may illustrate the act of blindfolding.<sup>(36)</sup> The Auxerre drawing shows the cloth pulled down over Christ's face, almost the same as the Newark panel. In the St. Albans Psalter the blindfold only covers the eyes. Similar to the Newark example, but slightly later in date, are the illustrations of this scene in the Fitzwarin Psalter<sup>(37)</sup> and a related Book of Hours.<sup>(38)</sup> Here, however, the whole face is not covered and the cloth is represented as a semi transparent gauze.<sup>(39)</sup> The thick cloth bound over the eyes occurs in the Oscott Psalter of the mid-thirteenth century<sup>(40)</sup> and also in a panel in the east window of Great Malvern Priory, of the early fifteenth century.<sup>(41)</sup>

- 
36. *ibid*, also M.Schapiro Two Romanesque drawings in Auxerre and Some Iconographic Problems, in Studies in Art and Literature presented to Bella Costa Green (1954) p.331 ff. fig.254. Schapiro does not deal with the iconography of this scene.
  37. Paris. Bibl.Nat.Lat. MS.765.f.10. F.Wormald. The Fitzwarin Psalter and its allies. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes Vol.VI. pp.71, 76, Pl. 22a.
  38. Brit.Mus. Egerton MS.2781.f 151 b. Wormald *op.cit.* Pl.22b.
  39. Professor Wormald notes that in the early XIV.c. Queen Mary's Psalter the cloth is represented as the thinnest gauze (Facsimile edit. G.F.Warner. Pl.252).
  40. Wormald. *op.cit.* p.71. G.F.Warner. Catalogue of MSS in the Collection of C.W.Dyson Perrins (1920) p.44. (New Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 50,000).
  41. Rushforth, *op. cit.* p.68. fig. 16.



THE CRUCIFIXION OF CHRIST

(St. Matthew Ch.XXVII. St. Mark Ch.XV. St. Luke Ch.XXIII  
St. John Ch.XIX).

XIII.C. Checkley (Staffs). Cat. No. 18.

Packwood (Warwicks). Cat. No.1. (Crucified Christ  
only, Incomplete ?)

Eggington (Derbys). Cat. Nos. 6, 7, 8.

XIV.C. Dronfield (Derbys). Cat. No. 93 (Crucified Christ  
only, incomplete.)

Coston (Leics). Cat. Nos.1, 2. (Christ and Virgin).

Garthorpe (Leics). Cat. Nos.1, 2. (Virgin and St.John).

Whitwell (Rutland) Cat. No.1. (Christ Only).

Cound (Salop) Cat. No.4. (St. John only).

Morville (Salop) Cat. No.1. (Christ only.)

Worfield (Salop) Cat. No.2. (Restored).

Leigh (Staffs). Cat. No.15. (Incomplete and restored).

Trysull (Staffs). Cat. Nos.10, 12 (Virgin and St.John).

Stanford on Avon (Northants). Cat. Nos.77, 78, 79,  
99, 100, 101.

Arley (Warwicks). Cat. No.12 (St. John only).

XV.C. Haddon Hall (Derbys). Cat. Nos. 16, 17, 18.

Thurcaston (Leics). Cat. No.16. 28. Incomplete.

Newark (Notts). Cat. No.47. Incomplete: a composite  
panel.

It is impossible to give here more than a brief account of

the iconography of the Crucifixion.<sup>(42)</sup> The eighteen examples of the Crucifixion in glass in the Midlands appear mostly to have been of the simpler type i.e. Christ Crucified between the Virgin and St. John Evangelist. At Haddon Hall St. John Baptist appears to have either replaced St. John Evangelist or to have been also represented beside the cross with the Virgin and the Evangelist.<sup>(43)</sup>

Figures of Christ crucified on the cross are not found in early Christian art until the fifth century.<sup>(44)</sup> In the early examples Christ is represented alive and there is little or no attempt to represent the agony of His suffering. In the later middle ages He is generally shown dead, with the eyes closed and the head inclined to the right. The earliest western example of this type is found in a small initial illumination of the Sacramentary of Gellone, of the second quarter of the eighth century.<sup>(45)</sup> The earliest English examples are of the tenth century.<sup>(46)</sup> The Midlands' examples all show the dead Christ, except for the one at Checkley where the living Christ is represented.

---

42. The most recent important study of the iconography of the Crucifixion is R. Thoby Le Crucifix (1959).

43. See sub Iconography. St. John Baptist.

44. e.g. V.C. Ivory in the British Museum. O. Dalton Catalogue of Ivories op. cit. No. 292. Pl. VI. (see p. 14)

45. Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 12048. The origin of this type is disputed.

46. e.g. Brit. Mus. Harley MS. 2904. f. 3 v. last quarter XC. F. Wormald English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (1952) Frontespiece and Pls. 8, 9.

At Haddon Hall, dated 1427, and Thurcaston, about the same date, demi figures of angels are shown holding chalices to catch the blood flowing from Christ's wounds. This motif originated in Italian art of the early fourteenth century: Giotto's fresco in the Arena chapel circa 1305, is the earliest example.<sup>(47)</sup> It is first found in English art in Abbot Lytlington's Missal of 1383-1384<sup>(48)</sup> and in the slightly later glass of New College chapel, Oxford.<sup>(49)</sup>

#### THE RESURRECTION

XIV.C. Averham (Notts). Cat. No.18.

The Averham panel as it now appears might be a sadly damaged Resurrection. The figure of Christ retains the head, in a frontal pose, part of His bared chest and raised right hand. It could equally well be a Christ in Majesty exhibiting the wounds of His Passion.

---

47. G. Carra Giotto (1925) Pl. LXIII.

48. J. Armitage Robinson and M.R. James. The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey. (1909) pp.7-8.

49. C. Woodforde. The Stained Glass of New College. Oxford. (1951) p. 67.

THE THREE MARIES AT THE TOMB.

(St. Mark Ch. XVI v. 1-8)

XIV.C. Newark (Notts). Cat. No. 15.

The Newark panel is incomplete. The three Maries, bringing spices to the tomb, stand on the left of the panel, before them the angel is seated on the tomb indicating the linen clothes lying on the ground. The tomb is incomplete and patched with alien glass. The line of the leading suggests that originally the angel was seated on the displaced cover of the tomb. The linen clothes in the foreground is an alien insertion from the drapery of a large figure. Despite these uncertainties the iconography of the figures follows the traditional representation of the subject as found in Anglo Saxon art. Comparison can be made with the illustration in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold of circa 963-984, the earliest English example,<sup>(50)</sup> and that in the Missal of Robert of Jumieges of 1013-1917.<sup>(51)</sup>

---

50. G. F. Warner Facsimile ed. op. cit. p.XXIV. Frontespiece and f. 51 v.

51. ed. H. Wilson op. cit. Pl. VIII.

Woodborough also occurs in the scene on the Syon cope of the late thirteenth century.<sup>(54)</sup> The earliest example of the scene in English glass is found at Canterbury, circa 1210.<sup>(55)</sup>

THE INCREDULITY OF ST. THOMAS.

(St. John. Ch. XX. v.24-29).

XIV.C. Woodborough (Notts). Cat. No. 5.

In the Woodborough panel Christ is shown taking hold of the hand of the kneeling Thomas and placing it in the wound in His bared side.

The mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, which is the oldest example in monumental art of the Incredulity, shows Jesus among the Apostles pointing to His side, with Thomas bending before him in submission, his hands veiled.<sup>(56)</sup> The actual act of Thomas putting his finger into the wound is represented at an early date, for example in a fifth century ivory in the British Museum<sup>(57)</sup> and, the earliest English example of the scene, in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold of circa 963-984.<sup>(58)</sup>

---

54. A.Christie English Medieval Embroidery (1938) p.144 pl.XCVIII.

55. Rackham op. cit. p.113 and Frontespiece. The panel appears to be heavily restored.

56. J.Wilpert. Die Romischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV bis XIII Jahrhundert (IV Vols.1916) Vol.II. 980. pl.100.1.

57. O.Dalton B.M. Cat. of Ivories op. cit. pp.5-6. pl.IV.

58. Facsimile ed. G.F. Warner. op.cit. p.XXV. 12. f.56 v.



In the fourteenth century window of St. Denys church at York the subject is depicted in two of the three main lights: Christ stands in the centre light displaying His wounds, and Thomas kneels in the left light, the third light contains St. John the Evangelist.<sup>(59)</sup> Two fifteenth century examples in stained glass of the Incredulity show St. Thomas holding the spear, symbolic of his martyrdom, this additional feature, however, does not seem to have been common. These windows are at All Saints, North Street, York<sup>(60)</sup> and Great Malvern.<sup>(61)</sup>

#### THE ASCENSION

XV.C. Newark (Notts). Cat. No. 51.

(St. Mark. Ch.XVI. v.19, St. Luke XXIV v.50-51)

In this panel the feet of Christ are seen disappearing into the clouds, below on the Mount of Olives the imprint of His feet remain; the Virgin and Apostles kneel at the bottom, their hands are raised in astonishment.<sup>(62)</sup>

---

59. J.Knowles. The York School of Glass Painting (1936) Pl.XXXI.

60. An Old York Church: All Hallows in North Street. ed. P.J. Shaw (1908) pl at p.28.

61. Rushforth op. cit. p.81. East window Light XIII.a. (Incomplete).

62. Only six Apostles are shown, the panel, however is possibly incomplete.

There are two types of Ascension that are widely found in early Christian art. <sup>(63)</sup> Christ sits or stands in the sky above the Apostles or ascends actively, as if climbing upwards, toward the extended hand of God the Father. Both types occur in English art of the tenth century. <sup>(64)</sup> About 1000 A.D. a new type was introduced showing only the lower part of the legs and feet of the disappearing Christ instead of the full figure. This iconography originated in England. <sup>(65)</sup> The earliest example of this type in English glass is the thirteenth century panel in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey. <sup>(66)</sup>

The footprints of Christ on the Mount<sup>u</sup> of Olives are not represented in English examples of the Ascension of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Schapiro suggested that their inclusion is a specifically Gothic element relating to the cult of the physical person of Christ. <sup>(67)</sup> In the church of the Ascension,

---

63. See M. Schapiro *The Image of the Disappearing Christ* Gazette des Beaux Arts. 1943. p. 135 ff.

64. Brit. Mus. Cotton MS. Galba A. XVIII. circa 925-40 Schapiro op.cit. fig. 1.  
Benedictional of St. Ethelwold. Brit. Mus. Add. 49598 circa 963-84. Schapiro. op. cit. fig. 2.

65. Bury St. Edmunds Psalter. Vatican. Regina MS. 12.f.73 v. c. 1000. Schapiro. op. cit. fig. 3.

66. Royal Comm. Hist. Monum. Westminster Abbey. pl. 19.

67. Schapiro op.cit. p. 142 citing the mid XIII.c. Graudal of Seligenthal as an example.

built on Mount of Olives, Paulinus of Nola (363-431) states that the spot from which Christ ascended could not be paved and showed the natural green turf of the surface.<sup>(68)</sup> Adamnan of Iona, writing in the seventh century, and citing the oral report of the pilgrim Arculf, states that the imprints were always miraculously renewed, even though pilgrims carried the sacred earth away.<sup>(69)</sup> In the later middle ages the imprints, however, were impressed on stone.<sup>(70)</sup> This transference from earth to stone possibly occurred before the twelfth century.<sup>(71)</sup> In 1249 a Bristol Dominican returned from the Holy Land with a piece of marble impressed with Christ's foot at the Ascension. This was given to Henry III who presented it to Westminster Abbey.<sup>(72)</sup>

---

68. Paulinus, Epist. XXXI.4. (Migne. Pat. Lat. XLI, 327) cited by Rushforth op. cit. p.387.

69. Adamnan. De Locis Sanctis. 245. cited by Rushforth, op. cit.

70. At William of Wey's visits in 1458 and 1462 only the impression of the right foot, on a marble slab, was to be seen. The Itineraries of William Wey. Roxburghe Club. 1857. p.63.

71. The XII.c. List of Relics at Reading Abbey includes: "De petra de qua ascendit dominus" Brit. Mus. Egerton MS. 3031.

72. W. Hinnesbuch. The Early English Friars Preachers. (1951) p.155, citing references.

# THE LAST JUDGEMENT

## XIV.C. Stanford on Avon (Northants).

Tracery lights of the east window of the North aisle of the Nave. Cat. Nos. 69-79.

At the apex of the window Christ is seated in Majesty exhibiting the wounds of the Passion.<sup>(73)</sup> Below Him are two angels sounding trumpets (70-71) with the Dead rising from their graves (72-73) and two angels holding the Instruments of the Passion (74-75). In the lowest register of the lights is the Crucifixion (77-79). The Stanford window is the only complete example remaining of the Last Judgement. There are fragments of angels sounding trumpets and the Resurrection at Wolverton,<sup>(74)</sup> and Mancetter,<sup>(75)</sup> Warwicks and Newark. Notts.<sup>(76)</sup> The earliest English examples of angels holding the Instruments of the Passion occur in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold of circa 963-984,<sup>(77)</sup> and in the somewhat earlier Athelstan Psalter.<sup>(78)</sup> Another

---

73. This figure is now inserted in the east window of the chancel Cat. No. 5.

74. See sub. cat. Wolverton, Warws. Cat. Nos. 2. 3.

75. Mancetter. Warws. Cat. No.8.

76. Newark, Notts. Cat. No.6.

77. Folio 9b. The Second Coming of Christ. G.F.Warner Facsimile ed. op.cit.F.Wormald.The Benedictional of St. Ethelwold (1959)p.20.pl.3.

78. B.M. Cotton MS. Galba A.XVIII f 2.6. Wormald op. cit.

fourteenth century example but of cherubim instead of angels holding the Instruments is found in a series of tracery lights at Aldwinkle St. Peters, Northants. (79) The earliest extant examples of the Last Judgement in English glass is found in the North Rose window of Lincoln Cathedral. Here Christ as Judge is shown with angels holding the Passion Instruments, these occupy four panels, the Virgin and Apostles, trumping angels and the Resurrection of the Dead. The date is circa 1200. (80)

SHIELDS OF CHRIST'S PASSION: THE 'ARMA CHRISTI'

XIV.C. Austrey (Warwicks). Cat. No.4.

Clifton Campville (Staffs). Cat. No.1.

XV.C. Newark (Notts). Cat. No.22.

Tong (Salop) Cat. Nos. 13. 14.

In each of the five examples listed above the Instruments of Christ's Passion are arranged like heraldic charges on a single shield. The Newark example displays the Cross, Crown of Thorns, the Three Nails, the Vinegar Rod and Spear and the Flails. The Austrey shield is similar but omitts the Vinegar Rod, the Clifton

---

79. Aldwinkle St. Peters, Northants. Cat. Nos. 2. 7. 10.

80. Lafond in R.A.I. Journal CIII op. cit. pp.144-145.



Campville omitts the Crown of Thorns, this shield, however, is damaged and incomplete. The two shields at Tong are each held by an angel. The shields are damaged. They each bear the Cross, Vinegar Rod and Spear, Flails, Pincers and Hammer; one adds the Cockerell, the other the three Dice and Seamless Coat.

The earliest example of the Instruments of the Passion grouped on a single shield that is cited by Mâle is in an early fourteenth century Book of Hours.<sup>(81)</sup> Here the Cross, Column, Lance, Sponge, Flails, Nails and Vinegar Vase are shown. A commentary is also given explaining that the white field of the shield signifys Christ's Body, the red spots on the field are the marks of the Flagellation and the five roses flowering on the cross are the Five Wounds of Christ.<sup>(82)</sup> The earliest datable example in English are that I know of is found in Walter de Milmete's copy of Aristotle's *De Secretis Secretorum* executed in 1326-1327 for presentation to the Prince Edward (Edward III).<sup>(83)</sup> On folio fourteen recto two angels hold the shield between them, occupying part of the top border of the page. The Instruments here

---

81. E. Mâle. L'Art Religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France p.104. citing Paris. Arsenal MS. 288.f.15.

82. Mâle : "Il n'y a pas d'exemple plus ancien de ce qu'on appelait au moyen age "arma Christi" Presumably this statement refers only to France.

83. British Mus. Add. MS. 47680.

represented are the Cross, Crown of Thorns, Vinegar Rod and Spear, the Three Nails and Two Flails.

In later Medieval art the form of representation is more extensive in that each emblem occupies a single shield. A series in the nave clearstorey windows at Great Malvern Priory, of the fifteenth century, originally had twenty four shields, each bearing a different emblem of the Passion.<sup>(84)</sup> Similar extensions occur in later fifteenth century manuscripts.<sup>(85)</sup>

*Sancti Spiritus* Roy MS

*V. B. Polyptych*

---

84. Rushforth. op. cit. p.255 ff. Figs. 132, 133.

85. See *Legends of the Holy Rood*. ed. Morris Early Eng. Text Soc. O.S. (1871) pp.170-196. transcripts and illustrations from Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 17. A. 27 and Add. MS. 22029. The symbols here, however, are not on shields.

### THE APOSTLES

The names of the Twelve Apostles chosen by Christ from among his disciples are given in the Gospels of SS. Mark, Matthew and Luke. (1) St. Luke reads:

14. Simon (whom he also named Peter) and Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew.
15. Matthew and Thomas, James the son of Alphaeus and Simon called Zelotes.
16. And Judas the brother of James and Judas Iscariot, which also was the traitor.

In medieval representations of the Twelve Apostles either St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, or St. Mathias was substituted for Judas Iscariot. St. Paul was generally preferred, but there appears to have been some variety of choice. (2)

There are two substantially complete series of the Apostles remaining in stained glass in the Midlands. The chancel window at Stanford on Avon (Northants) retains ten figures of the Apostles with a St. Barnabas that appears to be part of the same series. These are of circa 1315-1316. (3) Originally each figure had his

- 
1. St. Mark. Ch.III v.13-19, St. Matthew Ch.X. v.1-4. St. Luke Ch.VI. v. 12-16.
  2. G.Rushforth Medieval Christian Imagery (1936) p.104.n.6. notes, for example, that the screen at Cawston, Norfolk shows Thirteen Apostles, both SS. Paul and Mathias are represented.
  3. See sub. cat. and below for a full account.

name inscribed below his feet. SS. Peter, Andrew, John, Paul and James Major retain their labels and each carries his distinctive emblem. SS. Mathias, Philip and Barnabas are also named and each holds a book. The remaining three figures now lack their labels, two of them appear to carry books, but the attribute of the third is indistinct. These are rathered decayed.<sup>(4)</sup>

At Haddon Hall, Derbys. there is a series, datable circa 1427, of the Twelve Apostles that is distributed over the tracery lights of two windows. Eleven figures remain, some are incomplete and St. Peter is now missing. Here each Apostle carries a distinctive emblem.<sup>(5)</sup> This was the standard practice by the fifteenth century. In early Christian art St. Peter holding the key or keys was the only Apostle thus distinguished. The others sometimes carry a book as an emblem of their teaching. It was not until the thirteenth century that a distinctive emblem, generally associated with their martyrdoms, was assigned to each of the other Apostles.<sup>(6)</sup> SS. Andrew, James Minor, Bartholomew and Paul were the first after St. Peter to have particular emblems, the others continue to each hold a book or a sword, the latter simply indicative

---

4. See sub. cat. Stanford-on-Avon, Nos. 16, 29, 41.

5. See sub. Cat. and below for a full account.

6. E. Mâle L'Art Religieux du XIII<sup>me</sup>. siècle en France p.365 prints a useful tabular summary of French XIII.c. examples.

of martyrdom. The choice of emblem assigned to SS. Simon, Jude and Mathias shows some inconsistency and duplication, no definitive system seems to have been evolved.

There are the remains of several other sets of the Apostles in the Midlands.<sup>(7)</sup> There are four figures of the thirteenth century at Checkley, Staffs, two of these SS. John and James retain their name labels, they carry no attributes. A St. Thomas and St. James Major remain at Noseley, Leics. of the early fourteenth century, and also at Enville, Staffs. of a somewhat later date. SS. Philip and Thomas are all that remain of a series at Wixford, Warwicks. datable 1411-1418. The single figures of St. Peter at Okeover, Staffs. of the fourteenth century, and at Tong, Salop. circa 1410, may each be part of a series. At Mancetter, Warwicks. a series of tracery lights contained figures of SS. James Major, Paul and Bartholomew, these were probably not part of an Apostles' set as a St. John Baptist seems to belong with them. Finally at Fledborough, Notts. there is a fourteenth century figure of St. Andrew, holding a scroll inscribed with his portion of the creed, probably part of a Creed window.

The following account of the figures cited above is given in tabulated form, prompted by the very incomplete nature of the material.

---

7. Each of the figures cited here is fully considered below.



SAINT PETER

XIV.C. Stanford-on-Avon (Northants). Cat. No. 53:

+ S(ANCTUS) PETRUS. He holds up two keys.

Okeover, (Staffs). Cat. No. 41.

No label, he holds two keys.

XV.C. Tong (Salop) Cat. No. 11.

No label. He holds two keys and an open book.

Fralesworth (Leics). Cat. No. 1.

No label. He holds two keys and a miniature church on a closed book.

St. Peter's attribute, the two keys, is based on Christ's saying to him: "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." (St. Matthew. Ch.16 v.19). He is represented holding them from at least the fifth century onwards, the mosaic in the church of St. Paulo fuori le Mura at Rome was the earliest example.<sup>(8)</sup> The Saint's hair is shown tonsured, E. Mâle noted this as indicating that he was the first of the clerical order.<sup>(9)</sup>

---

8. E. Mâle. L'Art Religieux du XII<sup>me</sup> siècle en France p.252 n.1. damaged by fire in 1832.

9. *ibid* p.251. G. Rushforth. *op. cit.* p.97.n.2. notes that Ceolfrid (642-716) Abbot of Wearmouth, ascribed the Roman form of tonsure to St. Peter himself, "Petrus in memoriam dominicae passionis ita adtonsus est" (Bede. Ecc. Hist. V. XXI ed. Plummer. 1. 343).

SAINT ANDREWXIV.C. Stanford-on-Avon (Northants) Cat. No. 42.

+ S(ANCTUS) AN(DREAS). He holds a small saltire cross.

Fledborough (Notts). Cat. No. 9.

He holds a large saltire cross and a scroll inscribed:

ET IN IM(ESU)M (CHRIST)UM FILIU(M) EIUS UNICU(M)  
D(OMIN)UM NOSTRU(M).

XV.C. Haddon Hall (Derbys). Cat. No. 47.

No label. He holds a small saltire cross.

St. Andrew was crucified but the legend does not specify the form of cross to which he was attached by cords, not nailed. (10) The cross is generally depicted as a saltire cross (crux decussata), although he is sometimes represented crucified on, or holding, the ordinary Latin cross. (11) The saltire form may have originated from the idea that he was hung or tied to a tree. (12) It has also been suggested that the saltire or X form may be associated with the Greek initial for the name of Christ. (13) The earliest example

---

10. "And they came and bound his hands and feet and nailed them not". Acts of Andrew in M.R.James The Apocryphal New Testament (1924) p.360.

11. e.g. XIII.c. Cope at Uppsala, Sweden (Eng. or Fr. ?) see A.Christie English Medieval Embroidery. (1938) p.81, Panel 6. Pl.XXXIV. For other examples see K.Kunstle. Iconographie der Heiligen (1926) p.59 seq.

12. Rushforth op. cit. p.99.n.5. citing St. Peter Chrysologus (V.C) (in Migne. Pat. Lat. XXII. 589).

13. L.Reau. Iconographie De D'Art Chretien Vol.III (1) (1958) p.77.

cited of the saltire cross occurs in a representation of his crucifixion in a tenth century Troparium from Autun. (14)

The Fledborough figure of St. Andrew is shown holding a saltire cross and also a scroll inscribed with his article of the Creed. Originally this figure may have been part of either a series of Apostles, each holding his article of the Creed, or a similar series accompanied by prophets holding scrolls inscribed with their predictions of the corresponding articles of the Creed. The Fledborough figure is the only extant example of this iconography in stained glass in the Midlands prior to 1430, although similar examples are quite common in fourteenth century manuscripts (15) and later stained glass. (16)

---

14. Paris. Bibl. de l'Arsenal. MS. 1169 cited by Rushforth op.cit. p.99 n.6 with references.

15. e.g. British Mus. De Lisle Psalter Arundel MS. 83.f.12 early XIV.c., Psalter from Peterborough Abbey early XIV.c. Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS. 53 (see M.R.James A Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary Roxburghe Club, 1921.)  
Queen Mary's Psalter. B.M. Royal MS. 2 B.VII. Facsimile ed. G. Warner pp.23-24.

16. e.g. Great Malvern. Window d.XV.c. Prophets and Apostles. Rushforth op. cit. p.337-342.  
Hamstall Ridware, Staffs. XVI.c. Apostles only. S.A.  
Jeavons Medieval Painted Glass in Staffordshire Churches.  
Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans. Vol.LXVIII. pp.52-54.

SAINT JAMES MAJOR

XIV.C. Noseley (Leics) Cat. No. 7.

No label. He holds a staff with a wallet attached to it and, in his left hand, a book.

Stanford-on-Avon (Northants) Cat. No. 64.

+ S(ANCTUS) IACOBUS. Dressed as a pilgrim, his hat and wallet each bear a scallop, he holds a book and a pilgrim's staff.

Eville (Staffs). Cat. No. 15.

: IA(C)OB(US). Dressed as a pilgrim, a wallet hangs from his shoulder, he holds a book and a pilgrim's staff. (Incomplete).

Mancetter (Warwicks). Cat. No. 9.

Dressed as a pilgrim, his hat and staff in his right hand, each bear a scallop, a book in his left hand.

XV.C. Haddon Hall (Derbys). Cat. No. 48.

Dressed as a pilgrim, his wallet bears a scallop, he holds a staff with a thin rod bound to it, a book in his right hand. (Incomplete).

The pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Santiago di Compostela in Galicia was second in importance only to that of Rome (17)

17. See Mâle op.cit. p.294 seq and ibid L'Art Religieux du XIII<sup>eme</sup> siecle en France p.310. Mâle's views on the iconography should be considered beside Christopher Hohler's remarks in his "The Badge of St. James" in The Scallop. ed. I Cox (pub. by Shell 1957).

By the twelfth century the scallop shell was the recognised badge of a pilgrim to Santiago.<sup>(18)</sup> The transfer of the pilgrims badge, wallet and long staff to St. James himself originated in Spain,<sup>(19)</sup> and was absorbed into French art, in a modified form, in the early thirteenth century at Rheims, Amiens and Chartres.<sup>(20)</sup>

Another type shows the Saint carrying the wallet in the same hand as his staff, as at Noseley and on the somewhat earlier Syon cope.<sup>(21)</sup> This type may have been modelled on the figure of the Saint at the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, of circa 1240-1250.<sup>(22)</sup> The hat that the Saint sometimes wears appears to have been introduced in the late thirteenth century as a piece of deliberate realism.<sup>(23)</sup> The addition of a thin rod bound to the staff, as at Haddon, appears to be an English invention, possibly as a token of pilgrimage.<sup>(24)</sup>

- 
18. Liber Sancti Jacobi. XII.c. cited by Hohler. op.cit. p.56.
  19. Hohler. op.cit. p.60 citing the jamb figure of the west door of the Abbey Church of Santa Marta de Tera (c.1140-1150 ?).
  20. Male op.cit. XIII.c. Hohler op.cit. pp.62-63. These French examples omit the staff, their combination of wallet, book, and sword of martyrdom is peculiar to North France.
  21. Hohler op. cit. p.63-65 Christie op. cit. pl. xcvi.
  22. Hohler op. cit. p.65.
  23. ibid. p.65-66.
  24. See sub. cat. Haddon Hall for a full account.



SAINT JOHN THE EVANGELIST

XIII.C. Checkley (Staffs). Cat. No. 35.

Scroll. JOHANAES. No attribute.

XIV.C. Stanford-on-Avon. (Northants). Cat. No. 30.

+ S(ANCTUS) IOHANNE(S). He holds a palm branch and a book.

XV.C. Haddon Hall (Derbys). Cat. No. 49.

No. label, he is shown blessing a cup from which a small dragon emerges.

The palm carried by St. John, as at Stanford, is doubtless the palm brought to the Virgin Mary from heaven at the Annunciation of her death. The Virgin gave it to St. John who carried it before the bier at her funeral.<sup>(25)</sup> Examples of this iconography are quite common, for example, in the thirteenth century glass at Tours Cathedral,<sup>(26)</sup> on the thirteenth century cope in the Vatican<sup>(27)</sup> and in the fourteenth century glass at York Minster, where he also holds the eagle, his emblem as an Evangelist.<sup>(28)</sup> There are two such

---

25. See James op. cit. pp.210-213. Rushforth op.cit. p.98 discounts Mrs. Jameson's suggestion that it is the palm of martyrdom.

26. Mâle XIII.c. op.cit. p. 313.

27. Christie. op.cit. pp.94-96, Pl. 13. Pl. XLVI. Museo Cristiano, /n. Vatican, circa 1280, probably English.

28. J. Knowles. Notes on some windows in the choir and Lady Chapel of York Minster. Yorks. Arch. Journal. XXXIX (1956) pp.91-118, see p.92 and Pl. 11.

representations in Queen Mary's Psalter of the early fourteenth century<sup>(29)</sup> and it occurs also in the fifteenth century glass at Great Malvern.<sup>(30)</sup>

St. John's other attribute, the cup and dragon, comes from the apocryphal legend of the cup of poison offered to him by Aristodemus, priest of Diana at Ephesus. John blessed the cup and drank the contents without harm.<sup>(31)</sup> The dragon represents the poison leaving the cup, possibly inspired by St. John's prayer before drinking: "My God, and the father of our Lord Jesus Christ .. whose name the serpent hearing is still, the dragon fleeth, the viper is quiet..." In the thirteenth century St. John window at Chartres the saint is shown drinking from the cup, while in the background the preparation of the poison is shown: a man pounds serpents in a mortar.<sup>(32)</sup> Figures of St. John blessing the poison cup occur in glass from Winchester College, circa 1392,<sup>(33)</sup>

---

29. Facsimile edit. G. Warner, Pls. 121, 302.

30. Rushforth op. cit. pp.97-98, fig. 32. East window tracery.

31. See The Acts of John in James. op.cit. pp.262-263.

32. Y. Delaporte and E. Houvet Les Vitraux de la Cathedrale de Chartres. (1926) Vol.1. pp.160-164. Window IV Panel 14. Plate XI.

33. J. Le Couteur. Ancient Glass in Winchester (1929 ed.) p.86, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see B. Rackham A Guide to the Collection of Stained Glass (1936) p.50. Pl.IX.

and at Great Malvern, early fifteenth century.<sup>(34)</sup> A fragmentary figure at New College, Oxford, of circa 1382-1386, shows the Saint holding the palm and poison cup and his mantle is diapered with identical cups, each with a dragon emerging from it.<sup>(35)</sup>

---

34. Rushforth op. cit. fig. 32, also holds the palm, see above.

35. C. Woodforde The Stained Glass of New College, Oxford (1951) p.78. Pl.VIII.